

Message Text

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TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 187910

FOLLOWING REPEAT BELGRADE 4180 SENT ACTION SECSTATE
AUG 24TH. QUOTE:

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 4180

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR YO GR TU CY

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY MINIC - YUGOSLAV
VIEWS ON CYPRUS

1. SUMMARY. MINIC TRIP TO ATHENS AND ANKARA, AND UPCOMING ONE TO CYPRUS, OCCASIONED BY GENEVA BREAKDOWN AND DESIGNED TO SEE HOW YUGOSLAWS MIGHT HELP IN FINDING SOLUTION TO "COMMUNITIES" PROBLEM BASED ON YUGOSLAV EXPERIENCE. MINIC WELL RECEIVED TWO CAPITALS VISITED, BUT DISCOURAGED BY DEPT HOSTILITIES AND NATIONAL FEELINGS. HE FEELS GREEKS BEING TOO INFLEXIBLE NOW BUT URGED TURKISH "GIVE" TO MAKE COMPROMISE AND RETURN TO TALKS POSSIBLE. YUGOSLAWS NOW FEEL MARARIOS MUST BEAR SOME RESPONSIBILITY FOR SITUATION BECAUSE OF HIS UNEQUAL TREATMENT OF TURKS. MINIC REQUESTS CONTINUATION US-YUGOSLAV DIALOGUE ON CYPRUS, SYAING OUR OBJECTIVES SIMILAR AND WE MIGHT PLAY USEFUL ROLE WORKING IN CONCERT. END SUMMARY.

2. FOREIGN SECRETARY MINIC CALLED ME IN EVENING AUGUST 23 TO PASS ON IMPRESSIONS FROM HIS RECENT ATHENS AND ANKARA VISITS AND PROVIDE CURRENT YUGOSLAV VIEW ON CYPRUS SITUATION. HE OPENED
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MEETING HOWEVER WITH EXPRESSION DEEP GRIEF OF YUGOSLAV

LEADERSHIP OVER TRAGIC DEATH OF AMBASSADOR DAVIES AND REQUEST I
CONVEY TO DAVIES FAMILY AND SECRETARY
HEARTFELT CONDOLENCES YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP.

3. PURPOSE MINIC VISIT ATHENS AND ANKARA WAS HAND GREEK AND
TURKISH LEADERS PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM TITO, SUPPLEMENTED WITH
DETAILED EXPOSITION YUGOSLAV VIEWS ON CYPRUS, AND LEARN
HOW YUGOSLAVS MIGHT CONTRIBUTE IN WORKING TOWARD SOLUTION
OF "COMMUNITIES" PROBLEM THERE. MESSAGES SENT ALSO TO
MAKARIOS, CLERIDES AND DENKTASH. MINIC PLANS DEPART NEXT DAY
OR SO FOR CYPRUS TO ELABORATE YUGOSLAV VIEWS TO LATTER TWO, AND
WOULD BE ON WAY NOW BUT FOR CURRENT VISITS PHILIPPINE AND
CUBAN FOREIGN MINISTERS. MINIC NOTED LETTERS ADDRESSED MAKARIOS
AS LEGAL PRESIDENT, CLERIDES AS ACTING PRESIDENT,
AND DENKTASH AS LEGAL VICE PRESIDENT.

4. YUGOSLAV INITIATIVE OCCASIONED BY BREAKDOWN GENEVA TALKS
AND GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF DANGEROUS SITUATION ON ISLAND.
TITO FELT ACTION NECESSARY BECAUSE (1) SITUATION IMPACTS
DIRECTLY ON YUGOSLAV NATIONAL SECURITY DUE PROXIMITY CYPRUS;
(2) FRIENDLY NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES INVOLVED AND HOSTILITIES
BETWEEN THEM WOULD POSE EVEN GREATER DANGER TO YUGOSLAVIA;
(3) CYPRUS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, SOVEREIGNTY AND
INDEPENDENCE AT STAKE AND THREAT TO ANY NONALIGNED COUNTRY
IS POTENTIAL THREAT TO ALL. MINIC STRESSED GREEK, TURKISH
NATO MEMBERSHIP NOT INVOLVED YUGOSLAV DECISION -- THEY FREE
LIKE ALL NATIONS TO ALIGN OR NOT. IMPORTANT THING TO YUGOSLAVIA
WAS STABILITY AND MAINTENANCE FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH
NEIGHBORS IN INTEREST YUGOSLAV SECURITY. THIS CONNECTION
MINIC EXPRESSED DEEP YUGOSLAV CONCERN SHOULD CYPRIOT
SOVEREIGNTY BE WEAKENED OR ISLAND "DISMEMBERED" -- "WHY THEN
COULD THIS NOT HAPPEN TO OTHER NON-ALIGNED STATES, EVEN YUGOSLAVIA?"

5. TITO MESSAGES MADE CLEAR YUGOSLAV PRINCIPAL CONCERN
WAS (1) SAFEGUARD INDEPENDENCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY CYPRUS
(2) RESTORE FRIENDLY GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS; (3) FIND POLITICAL
SOLUTION SATISFACTORY TO GREECE, TURKEY AND COMMUNITIES.
LETTERS GAVE YUGOSLAV ASSESSMENT OF GENESIS OF CRISIS,
VIEWED ANY CHANGE IN CYPRUS' NONALIGNED STATUS AS DANGEROUS
TO STABILITY, AND STRESSED IMPORTANCE COMPLIANCE ALL PARTIES WITH
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SC RESOLUTIONS. TITO SEES EQUITABLE SOLUTION ONLY ON BASIS
(1) PRESERVATION CYPRUS INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND NON-
ALIGNMENT, (2) FULL EQUALITY TWO COMMUNITIES EVEN WITH ONE
NUMERICALLY INFERIOR TO OTHER, (3) REMOVAL ALL FOREIGN
MILITARY FORCES.

6. MINIC SAID LETTER WAS WELL RECEIVED BY ALL MEMBERS OF LEADER-
SHIP IN BOTH CAPITALS. IN PRESENTING THEM HE MADE CLEAR YUGOSLAVIA

HAD

NO INTEREST IN MEDIATOR ROLE AND SUCH INFERENCE SHOULD NOT BE DRAWN FROM LETTER. HE FOUND DISCOURAGING DEPTH AND INTENSITY NATIONAL FEELINGS WHICH NOW DOMINATE ATTITUDES BOTH SIDES TOWARD ONE ANOTHER, AND STRESSED US SHOULD UNDERSTAND PRESSURES THES BRING ON POLITICAL LEADERS OF BOTH SIDES AND FACT THIS MAKES RECONCILIATION EVEN MORE DIFFICULT. RESULT, MINIC BELIEVES, IS VERY LITTLE MANEUVERABILITY FOR EITHER SIDE. WHILE IT IS FORTUNATE REASONABLY COOL LEADERS SUCH AS ECHEVIT AND KARAMANLIS ARE AT HELM, MINIC IS NONETHELESS DISCOURAGED BECAUSE IT CLEAR THEY ARE BEING SUBJECTED TO EXTREME PRESSURES AS RESULT INFLAMED NATIONAL FEELINGS.

7. MINIC IS CONVINCED AS RESULT HIS CONVERSATIONS THAT BOTH GREEKS AND TURKS AGREE (1) SCYPRUS SHOULD REMAIN INDEPENDENT, SOVER-IGN AND NONALIGNED; (2) FOREIGN TROOPS SHOULD "IN TIME" LEAVE; (3) ANY "NATIONAL ORDER" MUST ACCORD EQUALITY TO TWO COMMUNITIES. MINIC SURPRISED - AND THOUGHT WE WOULD BE INTERESTED - THAT BOTH SIDES FEEL ISLAND SHOULD BE COMPLETELY DEMILITARIZED IN LONG RUN. MINIC BELIEVES CURRENT NEGATIVE ATHENS ATTITUDE IS FUNCTION OF CURRENT GREEK POSITION (WHICH MINIC FINDS TOTALLY UNREALISTIC) THAT TURKS MUST RETURN TO AUGUST 9 DEPLOYMENT POSITION. HE BELIEVES TURKS MUST MAKE SOME GESTURE HOWEVER AND STRESSED IN ANKARA THAT NO SELF-RESPECTING POWER CAN GO TO CONFERENCE TALBE DEFEATED AND HUMILIATED

8. PURPOSE OF MINIC'S CYPRUS VISIT IS EXPLAIN YUGOSLAV VIEWS TO DENKTASH AND CLERIDES AND EXPLAIN YUGOSLAV FEDERAL POLITICAL SYSTEM IN HOPES IT MIGHT SERVE AS PATTERN IN PART FOR RESOLUTION "COMMUNITIES" PROBLEM ON CYPRUS.

9. I THANKED MINIC FOR FULL REPORT, SAID I WOULD INFORM WASHINGTON
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IN DETAIL, AND EXPRESS VIEW MINIC AND TITO ENGAGED IN USEFUL EXERCISE WHICH I HOPED WOULD BEAR FRUIT. I SAID THERE LITTLE APPEARS SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN YUGOSLAV AND US POSITION AND REVIEWED SUBSTANCE

SECRETARY KISSINGER'S AUGUST 19 PRESS CONFERENCE, POINTING PARTICULARLY TO SIX-POINT STATEMENT ON CYPRUS POLICY. MINIC WOULD THEREFORE KNOW IT ALSO OUR VIEW TURKS SHOULD DISPLAY FLEXIBILITY AND MORE CONCERN FOR GREEK SENSITIVITIES. MINIC SAID HE INDEED FAMILIAR OUR POSITION AND HOPED WE COULD STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH REGARDING BOTH RESPECTIVE INITIATIVES AND ASSESSMENTS OF "GIVE" IN POSITIONS OF PARTIES DIRECTLY INVOLVED.

10. MINIC SPOKE AT LENGTH ON YUGOSLAV RELATIONS WITH MAKARIOS SINCE AS HE SAID, HE KNEW WE WERE NOT THE ARCHBISHOP'S STRONGEST

SUPPORTERS. YUGOSLAVS NOW FEEL MAKARIOS MUST BEAR MEASURE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR TROUBLES PARTICULARLY BECAUSE OF HIS REFUSAL TO ACCORD EQUAL, IF NOT DECENT, TREATMENT TO TURKISH MINORITY. EVEN TITO NOW ADMITS THAT, NOTWITHSTANDING TRADITIONAL YUGOSLAV RELUCTANCE TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHERS, HE SHOULD LONG AGO HAVE CAUTIONED MAKARIOS ABOUT PERILS OF HIS INEQUITABLE POLICY TOWARD TURKS ON CYPRUS.

11. MINIC MADE CLEAR IN CLOSING THAT HE INTENDS RESUME DIALOGUE WITH ME ON HIS RETURN FROM CYPRUS. HE EXPRESSED HOPE WE WOULD KEEP HIM INFORMED OUR OWN VIEWS AND ASSESSMENTS: WE BOTH ARE PURSUING SIMILAR OBJECTIVES AT PRESENT AND, IN CLOSE CONCERT, MIGHT PLAY USEFUL ROLES. BARRING PROGRESS, CYPRUS ISSUE WILL BE ON UNGA AGENDA. NONALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS (TH "TEN") WILL MEET IN NEW YORK BEFORE SESSION. MINIC FEELS IT IMPORTANT DISCUSSIONS AT GA SHOULD BE RESTRAINED, NON-POLEMICAL, AND CONSTRUCTIVE.

12 CURRENT PROPOSALS FOR SOLUTION- HE CITED AMVROS ON YUGOSLAV TELEVISION -- DESERVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION. SOVIET PROPOSAL, HOWEVER, IS LESS HELPFUL SINCE TOO MANY POWERS INVOLVED AND NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE UNWIELDLY.

13. COMMENT. IT WAS AN UNUSUAL AND SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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MINIC TO SPEND AN HOUR AND A HALF WITH ME, AT A TIME WHEN HE IS INVOLVED WITH TWO VISITING FOREIGN MINISTERS, TO EXPLAIN WHAT THE GOY HOPES TO ACCOMPLISH AND THE RESULTS OF HIS VISITS. MY IMPRESSIONS FROM MINIC'S REMARKS AND BEHAVIOR IS THAT GOY WANTS TO COOPERATE WITH US IN CALMING SITUATION, AND SEEMS TO BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT ADVICE WE MIGHT GIVE FOR A USEFUL ROLE FOR THEM. I RECOGNIZE OF COURSE THAT THIS APPROACH IS SELF-SERVING AS THE GOY LIKES TO APPEAR TO BE PLAYING AN IMPORTANT PART ON BEHALF OF MAJOR

NONALIGNED PARTNERS. NEVERTHELESS WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK WE SEE SOME POSSIBILITY FOR CARRYING ON A USEFUL AND FRUITFUL DIALOGUE AND THINK IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF WE COULD BE FORTHCOMING WITH THE GOY IN OUR ASSESSMENTS AND APPROACHES.

14. DEPARTMENT REPEAT OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED
TOON
UNQUOTE. KISSINGER

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